

Message Text

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SUBJECT: SPEECH BY NATO SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS TO THE
. EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM, JANUARY 23, 1978
.

THERE FOLLOWS BELOW THE TEXT AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY OF A
JANUARY 23 SPEECH BY SYG LUNS TO THE EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC
FORUM IN BRUSSELS. LUNS FOCUSSES ON THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE,
ADDRESSING IN TURN: THE SOVIET THREAT, THE NATO RESPONSE,
THE NEED FOR GREATER ALLIANCE DEFENSE EFFORT, AND THE NATO
DEFENSE INITIATIVES UNDERTAKEN TO HELP OFFSET GROWING
SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH.

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BEGIN TEXT:

THE DEFENCE OF EUROPE

TO THOSE OF US INVOLVED IN THE AFFAIRS OF GOVERNMENT,
AND BY THIS I DO NOT MERELY MEAN POLITICIANS AND
STATESMEN BUT ALSO ALL THOSE WHO TAKE AN ACTIVE INTEREST
AND PART IN WORLD AFFAIRS, THE DEFENCE AND SURVIVAL OF
WESTERN EUROPE REMAINS AND WILL ALWAYS REMAIN A MATTER
OF VITAL AND FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE. THIS IS NOT ONLY
BECAUSE WE, AS EUROPEANS, WANT OUR DWN HOMELANDS AND POL-
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ITICAL INSTITUTIONS TO REMAIN FREE FROM COMMUNIST
DOMINATION, BE IT POLITICAL OR MILITARY, BUT
BECAUSE A FREE EUROPE IS VITAL FOR THE FUTURE OF THE
ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, AND THROUGH IT OF THE WHOLE COMMUNITY
OF THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD.

IT IS THIS MUTUAL AND IN BROAD TERMS IDENTICAL INTEREST

IN THE DEFENCE OF EUROPE WHICH DREW THE 15 COUNTRIES OF NATO TOGETHER OVER 25 YEARS AGO INTO THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. IN ANY DISCUSSION, THEREFORE, OF THE THREAT TO EUROPE, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO KEEP A PROPER PERSPECTIVE AND BEAR IN MIND THAT EUROPE IS ONLY ONE, ALBEIT A VITAL PART, OF NATO'S DEFENSIVE AREA.

LET ME FIRST TALK ABOUT THE SOVIET THREAT. I SAY SOVIET RATHER THAN WARSAW PACT AS IT IS THE SOVIET POLITICAL DIRECTION AND THE MASSIVE MIGHT OF OVER 4 AND A HALF MILLION MEN AND WOMEN IN UNIFORM WHICH COULD THREATEN THE EXISTENCE OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN POWERS. I DO NOT INTEND TO PRODUCE DETAILED FIGURES OF MILITARY CAPABILITIES TODAY; YOU MAY GET THEM FROM ANY TEXT BOOK, BUT SIMPLY TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE VAST DIMENSION OF THIS THREAT AND THE OMINOUS AND CONTINUOUS EXPANSION OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER. OMINOUS, BECAUSE SOVIET RUSSIA, WHICH HAS ALWAYS, IF ONLY FOR GEOGRAPHICAL REASONS, BEEN ABLE TO KEEP VISIBLY SUPERIOR NUMBERS OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES ON THE FRONTIERS OF WESTERN EUROPE, HAS RECENTLY REACHED ROUGH EQUIVALENCE WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL NUCLEAR FIELDS.

MOREOVER WE ARE WITNESSING EVER-INCREASING SOVIET EXPENDITURES ON DEFENCE, PROBABLY AS MUCH AS 5 PERCENT IN REAL TERMS EACH YEAR; AND THIS WHEN THE OVERALL

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SOVIET GROWTH RATE IS POSSIBLY LESS THAN 4 PERCENT. IN SIMPLE TERMS, DEFENCE TAKES AN INCREASING SHARE OF THE ECONOMY EACH YEAR; THIS IS NOW ESTIMATED TO BE AS MUCH AS 13 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. BY CONTRAST, EUROPEAN COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN NATO'S INTEGRATED DEFENCE ORGANISATION ONLY INCREASED THE PERCENTAGE OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT DEVOTED TO DEFENCE BY A TOTAL OF 5 PERCENT OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS, THAT IS LESS THAN HALF PERCENT A YEAR ON A CUMULATIVE BASIS. IT IS, THEREFORE, ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS ARE CONDUCTING A RELENTLESS LONG-TERM BUILD-UP OF THEIR MILITARY CAPABILITIES WHICH DO NOT APPEAR TO BE GEARED TO REFLECT OR RESPOND TO NATO'S OWN DEFENCE EFFORTS. BY ANY OBJECTIVE JUDGEMENT, THE SOVIET UNION HAS INTENTIONALLY DEVELOPED A MILITARY CAPABILITY FAR BEYOND THAT REQUIRED FOR THE DEFENCE OF HER HOMELAND, EVEN IF ACCOUNT IS TAKEN OF THE NEED TO CONTROL ITS EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES AND, IN ADDITION, THE CHALLENGE WHICH THE SOVIET UNION PERCEIVES IN THE GROWING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWER OF CHINA.

WHAT MUST ESPECIALLY CONCERN US ALL IS THE

WAY RESOURCES ARE ALLOCATED WITHIN THE SOVIET DEFENCE BUDGET. ONLY 15 PERCENT OF THE ANNUAL BUDGET GOES ON PERSONNAL COSTS (FOR NATO COUNTRIES THE FIGURE IS NEARER 50 PERCENT) LEAVING 85 PERCENT FOR EQUIPMENT, TRAINING AND MAINTENANCE. MOREOVER, SOVIET FORCES ARE RAPIDLY AND INCREASINGLY BEING GIVEN ADDITIONAL OFFENSIVE CAPABILITIES. THE LARGE AMPHIBIOUS FORCES IN THE KOLA PENINSULA, THOSE IN THE BALTIC AND THE 19,000 OR MORE TANKS FACING THE CENTRAL REGION ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF SOVIET MILITARY OFFENSIVE POSTURE. ANOTHER EXAMPLE IS THE LARGE NUMBER OF TACTICAL AIRCRAFT OPPOSITE THE CENTRAL REGION WHICH HAVE RECENTLY BEEN

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GIVEN A DEEP PENETRATION CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR CAPABILITY.

THE MASSIVE EXPANSION OF THE SOVIET SURFACE AND UNDERWATER FLEETS IS YET ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE CLEAR INTENTION OF THE USSR TO GIVE HERSELF THE CAPABILITY OF THREATENING THE EXISTENCE OF EUROPE. THEIR SUBMARINE FLEET IS DESIGNED PARTLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF ATTACKING THE UNITED STATES OCEAN STRIKE FLEETS, EVEN MORE SO FOR OFFENSIVE ATTACKS ON THE VITAL ATLANTIC LINES OF COMMUNICATION. THE SOVIET SURFACE FLEET, THOUGH STILL INFERIOR TO WESTERN FLEETS, IS PRESENT IN ALL THE OCEANS OF THE WORLD WITH A CAPABILITY OF INTERFERING, BOTH IN PEACE AND WAR, WITH THE ESSENTIAL SUPPLIES OF RAW MATERIALS AND OIL UPON WHICH EUROPE REMAINS DEPENDENT FOR ITS EXISTENCE.

IN THIS CONNECTION, LET ME NOT OMIT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET MERCHANT NAVY. IN 15 YEARS IT HAS EXPANDED FROM 3 AND HALF MILLION TONS TO OVER 20 MILLION TONS. NEARLY ALL THE FLEET IS ENGAGED IN SOME FORM OF INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING BUT, IN ADDITION, GREAT DAMAGE IS INFLICTED ON THE MARITIME INTERESTS OF EUROPEAN POWERS; USING UNCLASSIFIED

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DIRECT STATE SUBSIDIES THE SOVIETS ARE MAKING GREAT INRDADS INTO MERCANTILE TRADE AND ENDANGERING THEFUTURE OF MANY EUROPEAN SHIPPING COMPANIES.

GENTLEMEN, THE THREAT EUROPE FACES TODAY IS ONE OF AN UNPRECEDENTED BUILD-UP OF READY, WELL-TRAINED, WELL-EQUIPPED AND CONSTANTLY EXPANDING FORCES. IT IS NOT ONE WHICH CAN BE IGNORED. TO COUNTER THIS THREAT AND DETER THE SOVIETS FROM EVER RESORTING TO ARMED FORCE, NATO ESTABLISHED FROM ITS INCEPTION AN INTEGRATED DEFENCE ORGANISATION. TODAY, 13 COUNTRIES (THESE EXCLUDE FRANCE . AND, FOR THE PRESENT, GREECE) WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER TO PROVIDE A VIABLE AND ADEQUATE DEFENCE OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. THREE MILITARY COMMANDS WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER TO ASSURE THIS DEFENCE; THE ATLANTIC COMMAND UNDER ADMIRAL KIDD IN NORFOLK, VIRGINIA; CHANNEL COMMAND UNDER ADMIRAL LEACH AND THE EUROPEAN COMMAND UNDER GENERAL HAIG. I WANT TO EMPHASISE THAT THE DEFENCE OF EUROPE IS DEPENDENT ON THE EFFECTIVE CARRYING OUT OF THEIR MISSIONS BY ALL THREE COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF. POWERFUL AS THE UNITED STATES IS, IT WILL NEVER BE POSSIBLE FOR HER TO STATION MORE THAN A PART OF HER FORCES IN EUROPE. CONTROL OF THE SEAS TO PERMIT REINFORCEMENT AND RESUPPLY IS THEREFORE VITAL TO THE DEFENCE OF EUROPE.

LET ME NOW TURN TO THE DEFENCE OF EUROPE ITSELF; IS IT VIABLE AND HAS NATO AN ADEQUATE DETERRENT? THIS IS A MATTER FOR MILITARY JUDGEMENT AND I WOULD NOT BE HONEST IF I SUGGESTED TO YOU THAT OUR COMMANDERS ARE HAPPY WITH THEIR RESOURCES. THEY ARE NOT. NEVERTHELESS AS MATTERS STAND NATO FORCES DO TODAY HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO DETER; INDEED THIS HAS BEEN THE CASE FOR THE PAST 29 YEARS. WHETHER IT WILL REMAIN SO DEPENDS ON UNCLASSIFIED

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THE EFFORTS AND SACRIFICES WE, AS PEOPLES OF THE WESTERN WORLD ARE PREPARED TO MAKE IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

LET ME EXPAND A LITTLE ON THE VIABILITY OF NATO'S DEFENCE POSTURE. IT HAS, AFTER ALL, BEEN CHALLENGED BY A WHOLE RANGE OF EMINENT CRITICS, SOME OF WHOM ARE FAR FROM UNQUALIFIED. YOU WILL, I AM SURE, BE AWARE OF THE DISQUIET FELT AND PUBLICLY EXPRESSED OF THE ABILITY OF NATO TO RESIST A SURPRISE ATTACK IN EUROPE AND OF DOUBT EXPRESSED ON WHETHER THE POLITICAL WILL OR INDEED TIME WOULD EXIST IN TIME OF ACUTE CRISIS FOR THE DECISION TO REINFORCE AND MOBILISE OUR FORCES. THESE ARE NOT MATTERS ON WHICH ANSWERS CAN BE GIVEN WITH FULL ASSURANCE; HISTORY INDEED IS FULL OF EXAMPLES OF DECISIONS TAKEN TOO LATE OR EXPECTATIONS WHICH PROVED TO BE WRONG. HOWEVER, IF MATTERS ARE LOOKED AT FROM A SOVIET POINT OF VIEW, A VERY DIFFERENT PICTURE EMERGES. LET ME EXPLAIN.

FACING THE SOVIETS ARE 15 NATIONS BOUND TOGETHER IN A MUTUAL TREATY OF ASSISTANCE, WITH A GNP CONSIDERABLY GREATER THAN THAT OF THE WARSAW PACT. MOREOVER, WHATEVER ASSESSMENTS THE SOVIETS MAY MAKE ABOUT THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE, THEY KNOW THAT THESE ARE BACKED, AND CLOSELY LINKED TO, NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES WHICH, IN THE CASE OF TACTICAL WEAPONS, WOULD GREATLY ENDANGER A MILITARY ATTACK AND, IN THE CASE OF THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WOULD BE CAPABLE OF DELIVERING DEVASTATION AND DESTRUCTION TO THE BASES, WAR INDUSTRIES AND THE INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX OF THE AGGRESSOR.

IN EUROPE, IN ADDITION TO THE INDIGENOUS FORCES, ARE

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THE EQUIVALENT OF 5 UNITED STATES DIVISIONS WITH POWERFUL AIR AND NAVAL FORCES IN SUPPORT, TOTALLING NEARLY 300,000 MEN. YET IN FIGHTING TERMS, THE UNITED STATES PROVIDES ONLY 10 PERCENT OF EUROPE'S COMBAT LAND FORCES, 15 PERCENT OF ITS NAVAL FORCES AND 25 PERCENT OF ITS AIR FORCES. THE SIZE AND QUALITY OF THESE EUROPEAN AND US FORCES MAKE IT EXCEPTIONALLY UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ATTACK THEM WITHOUT VERY CAREFUL REFLECTION AND ASSESSMENT AND THEN ONLY IN A PERIOD OF GREAT POLITICAL TENSION.

HAVING SAID THIS, I AM, OF COURSE, FULLY AWARE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE RECENTLY BEEN MAKING SPECIAL EFFORTS TO INCREASE THE READINESS OF THEIR FORCES. PARTICULARLY THOSE FACING THE CENTRAL REGION OF EUROPE. THIS, HOWEVER, MERELY INCREASES THE NEED FOR NATO TO BE ABLE TO ALERT ITS FORCES RAPIDLY AND FOR IT TO BE ABLE TO REINFORCE ALLIED COMMAND EUROPE AS RAPIDLY AS PRACTICABLE IN TIMES OF TENSION. IN THIS RESPECT I PARTICULARLY WELCOMED THE ASSURANCES GIVEN BY PRESIDENT CARTER WHEN HE VISITED NATO AT THE BEGINNING OF JANUARY. NOT ONLY DID HE PLEDGE THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DOCTRINE, STRATEGY AND POLICIES OF THE ALLIANCE, INCLUDING FORWARD DEFENCE AND FLEXIBLE RESPONSE, BUT

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HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE NUMBER OF UNITED STATES SOLDIERS IN EUROPE WOULD INCREASE BY MORE THAN 8,000 IN THE NEXT 18 MONTHS AND ALSO THAT THERE WOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS IN HIS COUNTRY'S REINFORCEMENT PLANS FOR EUROPE.

AS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WHAT SOVIET GENERAL COULD, IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, GIVE HIS POLITICAL MASTERS A CAST-IRON ASSURANCE THAT THE WEST WOULD NOT USE THEM? COULD ANY SOVIET LEADER ASSUME THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD ALLOW THE CREAM OF ITS FORCES TO BE OVERRUN AND EUROPE OCCUPIED BY SOVIET FORCES WITHOUT USING TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS? THE ANSWER MUST BE NO.

THUS, THE VIABILITY OF EUROPE'S DEFENCE DEPENDS ON BEING ABLE TO PRESENT THE SOVIETS WITH "UNACCEPTABLE RISK" OF STARTING OFF A CHAIN REACTION OF UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES. THIS, IN TURN, DEPENDS, HOWEVER, ON THE MAINTENANCE OF ADEQUATE, WELL-TRAINED AND WELL-EQUIPPED CONVENTIONAL FORCES CAPABLE OF BEING RAPIDLY REINFORCED IN TIMES OF TENSION. IT ALSO DEPENDS ON MAINTAINING MODERN, SURVIVABLE, STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL NUCLEAR FORCES.

ONE HEARS IN THE PRESS CONSTANT AND OFTEN NOT VERY

ENCOURAGING STORIES ON THE EFFICIENCY OF NATO FORCES. DIFFICULTIES THERE ARE AND THESE STEM OFTEN FROM THE ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH ALL NATO COUNTRIES FIND THEMSELVES. BUT THERE ARE OTHER REASONS; MODERN TECHNOLOGY OFFERS AT AN INCREASING RATE OPPORTUNITIES OF MODERNISING NATO FORCES, BUT THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW EQUIPMENT TAKES MORE TIME THAN EVER. MOREOVER, GREAT CARE MUST BE EXERCISED IN DECIDING WHEN TO MODERNISE NATO FORCES, BEARING IN MIND THAT EACH YEAR BRINGS

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ADDITIONAL ADVANCES. NEVERTHELESS IF WE LOOK AT EUROPE, NATO'S DEFENCES ARE FAR FROM NEGLIGIBLE. IN THE CENTRE 33 WELL-TRAINED, WELL-EQUIPPED GERMAN BRIGADES PLUS THE US 7TH ARMY, THE BRITISH ARMY OF THE RHINE, THE BELGIAN AND DUTCH CORPS, TOGETHER WITH THE CANADIAN BRIGADE, PROVIDE FORCES WHICH MUST STILL TODAY GIVE PAUSE TO THOUGHT TO THE SOVIET MILITARY COMMAND. THE FLANKS, OF COURSE, ARE MORE VULNERABLE BUT I WONDER WHETHER IN SOVIET JUDGEMENT, WHICH IS WHAT MATTERS, THEY BELIEVE THEY COULD GET AWAY WITH AGGRESSION WITHOUT THE CONFLICT SPREADING TO THE CENTRAL REGION AND INVOLVING RISKS WELL BEYOND THE GAIN OF SOME OBJECTIVE IN THE ARCTIC OCEAN OR THE BLACK SEA.

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HOWEVER, GIVEN THE EXTENT AND INCREASE IN SOVIET MILITARY CAPABILITIES ACROSS THE WHOLE BOARD, STRATEGIC, TACTICAL NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL, NATO CANNOT SIT BACK AND ASSUME THAT ITS OWN CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES WILL CONTINUE TO BE CAPABLE OF THEIR TASKS IN THE YEARS AHEAD. INDEED UNLESS SPECIAL EFFORTS ARE MADE - AND MADE BY ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE - IT IS ONLY TOO CLEAR THAT A POSITION COULD ARISE IN THE NOT-TOO-DISTANT FUTURE WHEN THE CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE IN PARTICULAR WOULD BECOME SO MARKED THAT DETERRENCE COULD NOT BE ASSURED.

IT IS THEREFORE TO THE CONVENTIONAL FIELD, AND ALSO IN THE FIELD OF THEATRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THAT OUR MEDIUM AND LONG-TERM PLANS ARE BEING DIRECTED. WITH THE LEAD COMING FROM PRESIDENT CARTER AT THE LONDON SUMMIT MEETING IN MAY, THE UNITED STATES HAS PLEDGED ITSELF TO MAKE THE NECESSARY EXTRA EFFORTS AND LOOKS TO ITS EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN PARTNERS TO DO THE SAME. INDEED A WHOLE SERIES

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OR SPECIAL SHORT-TERM IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN AGREED AND
ARE TO BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF THIS YEAR. THESE
COVER ANTI-ARMOUR, WAR RESERVE STOCKS AND REINFORCEMENT
CAPABILITIES.

FOR INTSTANCE, AS SECRETARY OF DEFENSE BROWN ANNOUNCED
LAST DECEMBER, ON THE BASIS OF ORDERS ALREADY PLACED
OR EXPECTED TO BE PLACED, ALLIED HOLDINGS OF ANTI-TANK
GUIDED MISSILES WILL HAVE INCREASED BETWEEN 1976 AND
THE END OF 1978 BY ABOUT 47,000 TO REACH A TOTAL OF ABOUT
193,000.

IN THE LONGER TERM, PROGRAMMES IN TEN SELECTED FIELDS ARE
BEING DEVELOPED WHICH, I HOPE, WILL HELP TO PUT
OUR DEFENCES ON A FIRM FOOTING RIGHT THROUGH THE 80S.
IT IS PERHAPS SOMEWHAT EARLY TO SPELL OUT THE DETAILS
OF THIS LONG TERM DEFENCE PROGRAMME BUT PROVIDED ITS
OBJECTIVES CAN BE ACHIEVED, I BELIEVE WE CAN LOOK
FORWARD TO SOME ADDITIONAL AND SUBSTANTIVE IMPROVEMENTS
ALL OF WHICH WILL DIRECTLY IMPROVE NATO'S
DEFENCE POSTURE IN EUROPE. FOR INSTANCE, THE ARRIVAL
OF REINFORCEMENTS FROM THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT AND
THE UNITED KINGDOM WILL CONTINUE TO BE SPEEDED UP AND, AT
THE SAME TIME, THE READINESS OF OUR FORCES ALREADY IN
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EUROPE WILL BE STEADILY IMPROVED. WE SHALL IN ADDITION
SEE WHETHER BETTER USE CAN BE MADE OF RESERVE FORCES.
IMPROVEMENT WILLBE SOUGHT IN OUR MARITIME POSTURE ON
WHICH EUROPE IS LARGELY DEPENDENT FOR THE SAFE ARRIVAL
OF RENFORCEMENTS AND HERE I CAN MENTION THAT THE UNITED
STATES HAS SET IN HAND A SUBSTANTIAL NAVAL PROGRAMME

TO MODERNISE ITS FLEETS. THE AIR DEFENCE REQUIREMENT
IN THE EUROPEAN COMMAND WILL RECEIVE SPECIFIC ATTENTION
AS WILL THE COMPLEX PROBLEM OF COMMAND, CONTROL AND
COMMUNICATIONS. OTHER PROGRAMMES INCLUDE ELECTRONIC
WARFARE, RATIONALISATION AND CONSUMER LOGISTICS.
FINALLY, I AM SURE WE SHALL BE ABLE TO AGREE ON A
PROGRAMME FOR THE MODERNISATION OF THEATRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS,
INDEED THIS I REGARD TO BE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL FOR THE
DEFENCE OF EUROPE.

IN SUMMARY, LET ME SAY AGAIN THAT THE DEFENCE OF EUROPE
IS INEXTRICABLY BOUND UP WITH THE DEFENCE OF THE WESTERN
WORLD. SECURITY INDEED IS NOT DIVISIBLE AND ONLY
THROUGH NATO CAN IT BE ACHIEVED. MOREOVER, I DO NOT
DOUBT THAT NATO HAS THE CONTINUING ABILITY TO DEFEND
EUROPE AND MAINTAIN PEACE. BUT, UNLESS AND
UNTIL SOME AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED WHICH LIMITS THE
RELENTLESS EXPANSION OF SOVIET MILITARY CAPABILITIES,
EXTRA EFFORT IN TERMS OF MORE RESOURCES FOR DEFENCE WILL
HAVE TO BE MADE BY ALL MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE.
END TEXT. BENNETT

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